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The Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations presents its compliments to the United Nations Secretariat and transmits herewith the interview of President Saddam Hussein, President of the Republic of Iraq, with the correspondent of CNN. The Mission requests that the interview should be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

Annex

FULL TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW OF PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN WITH THE AMERICAN TELEVISION STATION CNN

The American television station CNN has conducted an interview with President Saddam Hussein, lasting 90 minutes, in which various aspects of the American aggression against Iraq were discussed; the interview was broadcast yesterday.

The following is the full text of the interview.

Question: There are reports of Iraqi planes leaving Iraq for Iran; can you give any reasons for that?

Answer: Regardless of the figures which you have been hearing and of which we are unaware, the main thing is that Iraq and Iran are neighbouring Muslim countries. Regardless of the cirumstances of the past, these considerations will remain paramount in the relationship between the two countries. Since the battle is now a battle between believers and unbelievers, between good and evil, between justice and fairness on the one hand and injustice, domination and aggression on the other hand, do not expect that a single Islamic country will not be part of such a battle. In this spirit and against this background, it is only natural, if some of Iraq's aircraft found themselves forced to land in one Islamic country or another, that they should do so.

Question: Will those aircraft be used in the present war? Will they return to Iraq?

Answer: Iraq respects under all circumstances the laws and will of the State of Iran.

The oil spill

Question: On the subject of the oil flowing into the Gulf, you say that the West and America are the cause of the oil spill. America says that it did not make any intentional strikes with that aim. It has also been said that you are the one who opened the pipelines. Is that what actually happened?

Answer: The American Administration cannot claim that it has been forced to do this, or that it has done this in exercise of the right of self-defence. Therefore, whenever military field commanders have used oil as a means of legitimate self-defence or defence of the country in one place or another, this has taken the form of filling trenches with oil which is then ignited, or through other means, and they have been justified in doing so, and this is the picture which obtains at present.

Question: Then you confirm that the oil was not spilled into the Gulf, but was leaked as a tactical move?

Answer: I did not say that. I said that America had used oil and that it had not admitted doing so, that the facts, which cannot be denied, are that America attacked oil tankers loaded with oil, that it knew they were loaded with oil, that when that oil flowed over the country it would cause the damage it did, that those tankers, when attacked, were in Iraqi territorial waters; I said that America had also attacked pipelines and that it had publicly announced its attacks against the oil terminals, which are in Iraqi territorial waters. The American specialists know that when they attack the oil terminals they destroy the pipelines to those terminals and that the oil spills into Iraqi territorial waters. They have not been forced to do this. If the Iraqis have used oil for defence purposes and even if we have used it for development, this is justifiable. Time will tell what America is responsible for and what Iraq is responsible for.

Oil as a weapon

Question: So you are saying that you have the right to use oil as a military weapon in the war?

Answer: I said what I said.

Question: Another matter on the minds of many is that you have stated that you have decided to use prisoners of war as shields against attacks. The West says that this is contrary to the Geneva Convention and international law. Will you continue to do so?

Answer: What we have stated is an official declaration. In any case, there are still those in the West who speak of violations of the law. Take this example which I shall give you: do you remember what happened when it was announced that Iraq would detain the foreigners in order to prevent war? Do you remember what was being said about our decision at that time? It was said that it was an immoral, illegal and inhuman decision. The West spoke of humanitarianism, and some of the Western leaders affected an idealistic attitude towards the people, who had not sufficiently perceived their true nature. Do you remember that?! Do you know what those very same people who criticized those decisions of ours are now doing?! Do you know that they are detaining Iraqis? They are even detaining students who have gone to study in the West, and have announced their detention publicly!! Do you know the restrictions that have been placed on Americans of Arab origin, and on Iraqis who have acquired Western nationalities, people of Iraqi and Arab origin?! In many Western countries there are a number of people who previously had Arab nationalities and who have acquired Western nationalities, and yet since the war, stringent measures have been applied to them in violation of the laws of their countries, including your country America. Is this not opportunistic?! Have you noticed how many lies have been exposed? Have you noticed how many of the shameful acts of the West we have exposed in the short space of the past 10 days? Rest assured, we feel that you in the West need to remain steadfast and to reject this arrogance which emanates from your leaders. We feel that the human being within you, your humanity as Americans and as citizens, your humanity as Frenchmen in the West, your humanity as Britons is in need of our stance in rejecting domination and opportunism more than it is in need of the decisions of dominance and double

standards which are emanating from these and other centres. The world needs someone to tell the one who carries the biggest stick in the world that the stick which is in your hand cannot destroy the house of God, nor can it destroy the humanity of mankind. This is what you are now in need of. You do not need to know how many women and children in Iraq your planes can kill. You are people, and people do not need this. But Bush, or the devil within Bush, is in need of this.

Question: And yet you say that you are prepared to apply the Geneva Conventions to the prisoners?

Answer: Does the Geneva Convention stipulate that Iraqi students should be imprisoned?! Such are the double standards which obtain in the country which calls itself the number one country in the world. It urges the small countries, which it calls countries of the third world, to apply the law, while it considers itself to be above the law.

Bush a liar

Question: I believe you have visited the front. We have seen pictures of you there. Could you tell us your feeling about conditions on the front?

Answer: Men are believers, and they will stand firm. I think that Bush knows that, and this is shown by the fact that he did not move against those men. Rather, he came to kill women and children in Baghdad. Was not he the one who told you in America that he was going to get the Iraqi army out of Kuwait? Do you now see that he is a liar? Not to mention the other facts you have discovered about him?! I do not wish to direct criticism at anyone; I am merely using definitions which are found in the dictionary: he who is not truthful is called a liar. The Iraqi army is present in Kuwait. Certainly, you as Americans imagined that the attack would be launched against the army. The attack began on the night of 16-17 January. However, it did not begin against the armed forces in the nineteenth province. Rather, it began in Baghdad. It did not begin against the military forces. Rather, they launched it against scientific and economic sites. Surely, you as a journalist remember the announcement by the White House that nuclear power in Iraq had been destroyed. Did you not ask yourself why? Therefore, the battle was not for Kuwait. Rather, it was for other reasons, for the same reasons which the American Administration used to induce the rulers of Kuwait to conspire against Iraq when they were still there. They are the same reasons which made the United States Administration decide to prevent grain and food from reaching Iraq five months before the events. They are the same reasons which led the United States Administration to call for a technical and scientific boycott of Iraq over five months before the events of 2 August. Unfortunately, the ordinary American citizen was unable to put together the whole series of measures adopted by the United States Administration against Iraq before the events of 2 August and draw the same conclusions which we had drawn before that date. Therefore, Bush was able to lie to American public opinion. However, we shall help you to unmask the liars with these truths which are now revealed. President Bush cannot deny that he launched the war against scientific and economic installations and not against the army in Kuwait. This mission has been confirmed by the pilots' logbooks. And you as media people were in Baghdad and know that.

Question: It seems that your eight-year-long war on the Iranian front has stood you in good stead and that this war has not affected you as much as was expected.

Answer: This is what we said and warned about before the war was launched. Surely you remember the length of time they were talking about. I heard it said on the radio that some were talking about 24 hours and that others were talking about 72 hours. Whether it is a matter of hours, days, months or years, blood is being shed. No matter whose blood it is, it is human blood. We were trying to spare mankind this bloodshed. Therefore, we stated the facts clearly and openly. Our people do not want war; they believe that dialogue is the way to save mankind from wars. But we have said that once war starts, you should not imagine that it will be a war of hours, days or weeks. In any case, when it starts, much blood will be shed. We have also said that we do not want this. It is not our purpose to drag any of the world leaders into war, because their calculations are bound to fail.

Question: Allied military experts say that you are able to withstand heavy bombing. How have your soldiers managed to survive this bombing?

Answer: Do you remember what the Western leaders, including President Bush, were saying? They were saying that they would enter the war without a single American being wounded! Has this been true? We are still at the beginning; there have only been 10 days. Has the American wish been fulfilled? How will it be when the all-out war starts?! Those who were wrong in their assessment of this war should reply to the questions of the peoples and public opinion. Whoever attacks the men in Kuwait will be beaten. And if you ask me how, you will get the same reply. I tell you the question now is not who has arms. The issue is who will be beaten. Whose side is the devil on and whose side is God on? Quite simply, who has come thousands of kilometres against whose homes? Who has come to occupy the land of the holy sites of the other? The answer is clear. Do you think the pilots who have come to bomb Baghdad from high altitudes, not knowing where the bombs will land, do you think they are happy? I have seen them on television. Of course, more have been killed than have appeared on television. That is only natural. You know that in such cases the proportion of survivors is roughly one fifth. When the time comes when you start receiving the bodies of your sons you will discover other facts. I have asked those who have seen them face-to-face, "Did you not ask them 'Do you not regret what you have done?'" They said they had. I asked them this question, and what was the answer? They said that some of them were crying. Some of them were in a bad way; I do not want to speak of the state they were in. If I were to go with you to see our anti-aircraft-gun crews you would see how proud each one is of what he is doing to defend Iraq and its values. Especially on the first, second, third and fourth days, bombs were raining down on them, but not a single Iraqi deserted the arms with which he was fighting the aircraft. You can be sure what the ground battle will be like if the enemy armies are thinking of attacking the men in the nineteenth province. It only remains to ask every honest Westerner one question. You must remember the background of events before 2 August, from 2 August to the night of 16-17 January and then after the outbreak of war on the night of 16-17 January. How is it possible for a people of 18 million to withstand all this evil aggressive might? You are bound to arrive at a simple answer, which is that if this people were not assured of the rightness of its stance it would not

stand up to this tyrannical might. Does not such a phenomenon attract the attention of those who seek the truth? If it does, they will be guided to a solution through dialogue and not through war. And in doing so many truths will be revealed.

Question: What level of dialogue are you talking about?

Answer: I talk with peoples, not with the American President. I am talking to you as an ordinary citizen. I am talking about genuine dialogue with people, not with potent aggressors. Because we as a people shall remain. As for others, they must bear the burden of their evil. I am speaking about the humanitarian laws which must govern relations between peoples.

Question: What do you say to the leaders and peoples who want a peaceful solution? What about dialogue?

Answer: You should put that question to Bush yourself. Bush has used dialogue as a tactic. You know that we are the ones who proposed dialogue. He refused. Then he suddenly appeared on television and said that he wanted dialogue. It was immediately apparent to us that he had decided on war and that his new talk of dialogue was no more than a cover so that he could tell those who were saying "You have not exhausted the path of dialogue" that he had tried dialogue, that it had not led to any results, and that he had no choice but war. This is just as we said. Everthing we have said since 2 August up to now has come true. When we said that keeping foreigners and preventing them from leaving would avert war, what were the Western political charlatans saying? They were saying that keeping the Westerners and preventing them from leaving would be a cause of war. If the Westerners left that would avert war. Now the matter is over and we do not regret any decision which we have taken, because we do not take any decision unless we are convinced. If the 5,000 Westerners and Japanese were still in Iraq, would Bush be striking Baghdad?! We were not afraid to take the decision to allow the Westerners to leave. Events have shown that we were not afraid; we took the decision out of respect for public opinion and simple, ordinary citizens, not for the politicians, because ordinary citizens do not confuse the issue. We allowed them all to leave so that our battle would be clean, and the issue would not be confused. I have disclosed this to you, and I shall also reveal to you that some politicians are playing a game of double standards and intelligence-gathering, rather than a statesmanlike role.

The land war

Question: What about the land war and when will it take place?

Answer: In any case, the war is already on. Why should we speak about the land war or other types of war? What has been achieved so far? Has Bush won? I say he hasn't. I say he lost from the very moment he took the decision to go to war. I see that you are embarrassed about this, and if I were in your place I would feel embarrassed too. I am sure that every American is now embarrassed deep down, and as the war goes on this embarrassment will turn to pain and the pain will

turn to revolt against the leaders who have deceived him. An American is a human being and he will ask himself a specific question: Are these the values of the great country that is America?! Are these the values of which Bush speaks and which he desires for the United States?! He is mobilizing and sending his army to attack a people of 18 million across the Atlantic, across the oceans. Are you still a great country? Do you feel that you are still a great country at a time when you are collecting money to support your army which you have sent to attack us?! Are you proud that the President of the greatest country is bragging that he has come to attack a people of 18 million?! These are the factors which now make the American Administration defeated from within. From the moment it decided to go to war, America was defeated, and these factors have made it fall from the status as a super-Power.

The length of the war

Question: How long do you expect the land war to last?

Answer: Only God knows how long it will last. But one thing of which we are convinced, as I have said, deep in our hearts and minds, is that the Iraqis will fight in a way that will win the admiration of the human being which is inside Americans. Much blood will be shed. Much blood has already been shed. But of course the officials who have decided on this aggression do not ask how many Iraqis will be martyred by it. I followed their statements before the military aggression, and not one of the top officials spoke of his desire not to spill Iraqi blood. They were trying to make their parliaments believe that there would be no American casualties, or if there were, that they would be very few, or that there would be no British casualties or no French casualties, and if there were, they would be very few, and so on.

Question: What blood are you talking of?

Answer: When we say that much blood will be shed we mean French blood, American blood, Saudi blood, the blood of all those taking part in the fighting, not just Iraqi blood.

Do not be fooled by the politicians

Question: The American leadership says that it has won the air phase of the war. What do you say?

Answer: Once again, do not be fooled by the politicians. They are dividing up the battle for you and speaking of the air battle and then they say wait until the land battle starts. War is war and it has begun and you must count the days, weeks and months and ask them: Did you not say that the war would be a matter of days? You have miscalculated just as you miscalculated before.

Chemical weapons

Question: Will you use chemical weapons in the war?

Answer: I have said that we will use weapons equivalent to the weapons used against us, and in any case it will be in defence of our country, Iraq, within all its borders from Zakho to the sea.

It is Israel which is attacking Baghdad!

Question: Were you disappointed that Israel did not respond to the missiles fired against it? Why did you fire Scud missiles at residential districts in Tel Aviv and Saudi Arabia?

Answer: The forces which are attacking Baghdad are those of Israel. If it weren't for zionism which has played its role in the corridors of the White House and goaded your army into such acts, you as an American would not have come here. Why would America take the decision to withhold food from the Iraqis five months before the events of August if it were not for zionism?! The enemy of Iraq! This battle is the battle of zionism, but zionism is fighting with American blood. And if it has not yet used arms it is because it wants to remain master of the situation after the war is over. But zionism is fighting us. If it weren't for zionism, you wouldn't have come to occupy the Kaaba and the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad and to come into confrontation with the Muslims as a whole and to attack Baghdad. We shall not be deceived by appearances. You may remember that we said if Baghdad were attacked we would attack Tel Aviv. Thus we say to the enemies in Tel Aviv that we know the whole game and we say to them: Leave the land of Palestine; stop slaughtering the Palestinians. Israel is occupying the land of us Arabs, it is occupying the land of Palestine, it is occupying the Golan, it is occupying a part of Lebanon. It is therefore an occupier and an aggressor against the Arabs. This is the message of the missiles, the reason for them and their meaning.

"Al-Hussein" and "Al-Abbas"

As we have said, why are you so sensitive about calling things by their names. The Russian Scud missile has a range of 270 kilometres. What we have is an Iraqi missile called "Al-Hussein". We also have its brother, "Al-Abbas", with a range of approximately 1,000 kilometres. It has been developed for use at distances which suit us. Some specialists are sensitive about this name. I do not mean ordinary Americans, but rather specialists who know that the name "Al-Hussein" reminds them of our ancestor who fought corruption and tyranny with only 70 men. How should we, who are now millions, not fight tyranny?! This sensitivity is because when you remember Al-Hussein you must remember the 70 men and you will certainly remember that the Iraqis are today 18 millions and they are capable of fighting endlessly until right triumphs over wrong.

Question: What weapons does the "Al-Hussein" missile carry?

Answer: It can carry nuclear, chemical or biological warheads.

Question: Will you use these weapons?

Answer: I have said that we will use weapons equivalent to those used against us. We are people who remember the values of our ancestors. This is an occasion on which to remember one's ancestral values. Despite all this air superiority, we have not been shaken and we have not departed in our behaviour from the "balanced course". I hope that not too much blood will be shed. We hope that we will not be forced into that.

Battle secrets

Question: Why do you have restrictions on publishing details of the battle?

Answer: The Americans are now imposing restrictions on you, on news about the troops in Saudi Arabia, and even simple details about the course of operations are being restricted. This is in a democratic country, as it is called in America! How do you expect that in a dictatorship (as you call us), we Iraqis should divulge such secrets? What is important to us is that, with every hour that the faith and self-confidence of individual Iraqis are put to the test, they become more and more convinced by additional factors that right is on their side. As long as the people have faith, they will give of their best. None of what has been destroyed or will be destroyed was donated to us by anyone. We built it through long hours of work, great patience and strong morals. When I say "we" I mean the Iraqis. We are one. And when the Iraqis say "we" they mean ordinary citizens together with the leadership.

I have no doubt of victory

Question: Do you have any doubts about the outcome of the battle?

Answer: Not one in a million. I want to make one thing clear. When we called it "the mother of battles" we were not referring to the pages of military history, because they had not yet been written. It was called that because right is clearly distinguished from wrong and because we believe that God is with us. Is there any battle greater than one in which God Almighty is the leader on the one side, and where Satan is on the other side?! Please note - America, the super-Power, Great Britain (I am using the names which you yourselves constantly repeat), France, a great Power - who have the countries of massive weaponry, together with the countries of dirty money, ganged up against? Against Iraq!! After such a description can anyone believe that God is not with us?! Whoever has God on his side will not be vanquished. God, who brought the elephant into the Kaaba and then let it be vanquished, is capable of smashing all the armies of the invaders.

A word to the Americans

Question: What would you like to say to the Americans?

Answer: It suffices us to say that what has happened is what we believe in. I want you to tell the Americans that we wish them well, that we do not wish a single one of their sons to die. All Iraqis are grateful to the Americans of good will who have come out to demonstrate in America against the war and to the kind-hearted noble citizens of good will in France, Germany, Spain, Italy and everywhere, in Britain. We follow with interest this noble humanitarian movement which has sprung up against the aggressive policy being plotted in the corridors of power at the instigation of criminal zionism. All Iraqis, including the wounded children in the Iraqi hospitals which have been bombarded by the armies of the West, follow this with great interest. We will make a clear distinction between the evil decision of the administrations which have fallen under the influence of zionism and the attitude of the peoples. As we pledged to God, so we pledge to our people, to the sons of our nation, we pledge to people of good will in America, Europe, Japan and the Soviet Union, in the whole world, in the so-called advanced countries and in the so-called third world, we pledge that we shall not forget the noble souls who will discover day after day that they are right in rejecting the oppression that is falling on them, on our people and on our nation. I am happy to have met you and I thank you for listening to me with an open mind.

Thank you very much.